1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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Names were given to children very soon after birth. Names were frequently changed and given away. A man would receive his father's name from the latter, or would take it after his death. If a child were sickly, a relative, such as a grandfather, sometimes gave him another name. A sick person sometimes also took a new name in order to recover. Renowned warriors sometimes gave away their names to young men. They might retain the same name for themselves, or take a new one. One very aged man gave away his name to a young man, telling him, "I give you my name in order that you may have as long a life as I." This was done without the occasion or accompaniment of a ceremony.

There seems to have been no prohibition against mentioning the name of the dead, nor even any reluctance on the matter. Some people, however, were ashamed to speak their own names.

Twins, called niiçan, were named, if boys, respectively Kaaen and Niiçaⁿ. The latter name, however, was not always used, an ordinary name being given instead. Girl twins were not called by these names.

The hair was formerly worn in braids, as at present customary among the Plains tribes, but also erect over the forehead. The women wore their hair either in braids or sometimes loose. In mourning, the hair, especially of the women, was cut about halfway across the cheek.

Ear-piercing, which among the Arapaho is performed on ceremonial occasions, and is itself accompanied with ceremony and giving of presents, was said among the Gros Ventre to be unaccompanied by special ceremonial actions. A woman or any one else does the piercing.

Boys who were herding horses sometimes took off their clothes and daubed themselves with mud until they were unrecognizable. They painted their horses, and made shields of willow. Then they came to the camp, mounted or on foot, to steal meat. Approaching the camp like a war-party, they would select the best meat hanging outdoors, charge on it, take it, and run. The old men and women and children chased them with clubs, but of course without success. The boys would go back to where they were herding, and have a feast.

The Gros Ventre say that both hand-shaking and kissing are aboriginal with them.

GAMES.

A common cup-and-ball game called tsöötskuutjaⁿ ("throw in") consisted of four hollow deer or antelope leg bones, each about two inches long, attached to a string passing through them, at the end of which there was a needle eight or ten inches long. This game appears to be identical with

alluded to or occur in the presence of either his father or mother. To appear unclothed in each other's presence would be embarassing to father and son alike. A woman refrained from any conversation or action that would call the attention of her father to the fact that she was menstruating or pregnant. An example of the attitude in this regard came to attention recently. "A woman, who was walking along the road near her house one evening, suffered a miscarriage. Instead of being taken to her own house nearby she insisted on being taken to a neighbor's, her reason being that her father and a few of his friends had been at her home when she had left and she would be 'ashamed' to appear in front of him in her condition."

It would seem that in some ways mothers had closer ties with their daughters and fathers with their sons. If, for example, parents disagreed about something their children did, each took up for the child of like sex. A man said to his wife: "You leave the boy alone, he's *my* boy," and a woman would say the same regarding the daughter. Or had a child done something to disgrace the parents, the wife was likely to upbraid her husband, if a boy were the culprit, by telling him: "Your son did so-and-so!" Should the daughter have been at fault, her father would speak in similar vein to his wife. In cases of adoption, too, a woman claimed a girl and a man, a boy.

On the other hand, in circumstances where parents could publicly show pride in their children, it often happened that a woman gave presents away in honor of her son and a man in honor of his daughter. It was customary, too, that if a young man had done something especially noteworthy at war, anyone could approach his mother and ask for whatever was wanted, and she would give it. Middle-aged women, whose sons were in World War II, joked with each other along these lines when news of their sons came from the front. Unfortunately, however, adverse economic circumstances precluded the full carrying out of the custom.

Attitudes of respect and reserve between parents and children are extended to include all of parents' siblings and their spouses, special emphasis being put on father's sister and mother's brother. Kinship terms reflect this situation. The term "father" includes father's brother, male cousin, mother's sister's husband; "mo-

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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ioned doll which he wrapped up like a sack-baby and, one night without letting her know what he was doing, he raised up the covers on his third wife's bed and put this doll under her. He did the same with the Assiniboine woman and said: 'She will have a boy, too.' As he had predicted, each bore him a son, and these two are the only children Crow Bull had. He later gave this doll to one of his niece's daughters, having 'sterilized' the doll first, however, so that the girl was not affected and subsequently gave birth to five children."

Natural sterility was apparently not recognized by the Gros Ventres. If a couple was childless it was assumed that contraceptive medicines were used. While many individuals did not approve of the use of these medicines, each family had the right to do as it pleased in this matter without outside interference. Nevertheless, The Boy, alarmed at the falling birthrate which he attributed to the widespread use of these old-fashioned medicines, on two occasions in 1921 and 1922 spoke out boldly in public about the matter. He feels he was justified in doing so since he thinks there has been an improvement in the situation.

Although the use of these medicines was rated by our informants as the major factor in accounting for the small number of children per family, infant mortality was said to have been high, and infanticide was known.

For premature infants nothing could be done in the days before hospital care was known. Furthermore, where marked physical defects were obvious at birth, the chances that the infant would live were slight. It was stated, for instance, in regard to one woman who gave birth to a "little dog," that "had she been alone she would have done away with it, but her husband prevented her from doing so and everybody thought it was awful." Coming Daylight and Singer knew of two other actual instances of deformity,—one child who "looked like a beaver," and another who had "ears like a rabbit"—and both of these died shortly after birth. Coming Daylight remarked: "It seems as though we are so foolish the way we are ashamed of being deformed. One time when we were in town a white woman, whose face was quite disfigured, came into a restaurant where we were. My daughter told me: 'They [the whites] don't think anything of it. It can't be

845 helped.' But we Gros Ventres think so much of anything like that and if one of our own is deformed we almost want to die over it." [3]

847 Instances were known in which a normal infant, abandoned by its parents, was picked up and raised by someone else. Cora, for 597 instance, had been told that when the third successive daughter was born to her maternal grandparents, the father was angry because he had badly wanted a son. He ordered that the infant be abandoned to die. She was saved, however, when the father's "inseparable-friend" found and adopted her. Again, Charles Buckman had heard that his great-grandfather one morning very early was attracted by the sound of an infant crying in the bush. He found the newborn baby and took it to his lodge, telling his wife to find a woman to nurse it. He raised this infant as his daughter.

847 The case of infanticide that stands out most clearly in the minds of Singer and Coming Daylight is that of twins born to the latter's 845 sister. Coming Daylight was present at the birth and saw that her sister felt terrible about having borne twins. "My sister said: 'I won't nurse them anyway, so just take them away.' So they were both taken off in the bush; the boy was already dead and the girl froze to death. My sister was a terribly proud woman and was afraid people would think she was over-sexed. Besides she hadn't wanted any more children, since her two other sons were fairly well grown, and she maintained that a woman couldn't keep as neat with infants about. I had been waiting for my sister's husband to speak up, but he didn't say a word. I, however, told my sister: 'It is a bad thing to get rid of those babies, something will happen as a consequence.' As I had predicted, the next baby my sister had took her life. When trying to persuade her not to do away with the infants, I had used as one argument that white people have twins more often than Indians, but she persisted in maintaining that it was a disgrace." Mary remarked while Coming Daylight was telling this story of her sister: "My mother used to think it was so funny that white people are proud of twins!"

845 The attitude towards twins seems to have changed, as younger informants did not indicate that twins were considered a disgrace. For instance both The Boy and Thick insisted that twins were, on

[3] Cf. Denig, p. 403.

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the contrary, held to be holy and given special care.[8] They mentioned nevertheless that women of child-bearing age refrained from eating the two strips of flesh along the anterior of the backbone of buffalo lest twins result. 845 [262]

Coming Daylight said that she had heard of cases in the old days where twins would be separated,—one kept by the parents and the other adopted by someone else. Personally, however, she did not approve of this policy and when her daughter-in-law gave birth to twins she told her: "Be proud of them. Dress them alike and they will grow up well. Don't think more of one than of the other." She gave the same advice to her granddaughter when she in turn bore twins. The advice was not heeded in this instance and both the granddaughter and her husband adored one and neglected the other so that Coming Daylight herself took the neglected one. These twins were not quite a year old when the one loved by its parents died.

A middle-aged woman said that she had always heard regarding twins that they should be treated just alike and that the mother should always take both wherever she went and never leave one behind. Her own experience was a sad one. When her twins were about seven months old, one of them got sick and she had to take it to the hospital. The people at Hays told her: "You shouldn't leave one twin here." She, however, wanted to stay with the sick one, but the doctors sent her home. The twin left in the hospital died and people told her: "You shouldn't have left one there without the other."

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The only indication from these two oldest women informants of belief in prenatal impression was the remark of Coming Daylight when telling the story of a young man who opened the belly of a deer he had killed and found therein two young, each of which had "human faces." She said: "So they concluded that even animals get afraid and the young are marked." A younger woman mentioned that she had heard that if a pregnant woman looks at some- 843 825 843

[8] Kroeber, 1908, p. 182, gives the special names by which twins were called.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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843 thing unusual it will affect her child and, further, that a woman in that condition should not look upon a corpse.

[845] Coming Daylight could not remember any cases of stillborn children, but finally Singer recalled that a woman, whom they both had known, had borne triplets which were dead at birth. Incidentally, this was the only case of triplets of which either had ever heard.

Certain prenatal care was taken to ensure easy delivery and healthy offspring. It was often mentioned that in the old days pregnant women were well taken care of. Coming Daylight explained it thus: " In those days a man usually had several wives so that the one who happened to be pregnant was looked after by the others and didn't have to work hard. She was not supposed to do any cooking, and, if it were absolutely necessary that she cook, she must wear something like a heavy apron to protect her lest the afterbirth stick. During hot weather she was supposed to wear a robe on her back, because they claimed that the heat was hard on the breasts. She was not allowed to pack heavy loads. They believed that she should work, but not enough to wear herself out. She was taught to take certain precautions. My grandmother, especially, would tell me, when I was pregnant, such things as: 'If you have to change sides while lying in bed, sit up first and then lie down on the other side. Don't just roll over, or the cord will wrap around the infant's head. If you leave your lodge, you mustn't stand in the door, you must go right through, so the baby will come quickly. Never back into a lodge because that will make the infant come the wrong way.' "

Coming Daylight claimed that she always got along well in childbirth because her infants were small and she followed the advice given her. Her firstborn was the most difficult, as is usual for most women, but her husband was a very fine, mature man who hadn't let her do anything to injure herself during pregnancy. Furthermore he followed the customary Gros Ventre abstention, being " very careful especially during the last month, when Gros Ventre men refrain absolutely from intercourse with their pregnant wives lest, when the infant is born, it be covered with a lot of ' white lard-like stuff.' "

[805] [211] The length of gestation was counted by moons. If, for in-

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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The chief vower and her associate dancers had no ceremonial grandfathers but each one had a ceremonial grandmother, an old woman "who had retired and reached end of the road."

The chief vower would take a pipe filled with tobacco, offer it to an old woman, so requesting her to be grandmother and to be the "boss" and "manager" of the dance. This latter woman was in charge of the dance and told the others what to do, and was said to "make the dance for" the chief vower. The dance was held so often that all the dancers knew what was to come next, but nevertheless they would await instructions from the "boss." On one occasion when Coming Daylight was a "calf," the chief vower was a very old woman, Digger, at one time married to Crow Bull, and the "boss" was Matter-in-the-ear. After the latter had "made the dance for" Digger, the latter could "make it for" some other woman. On another occasion, a woman named Hairy Woman (born with lanugo) was "boss." According to Coming Daylight, the "boss" was called "grandmother" by all the women dancers.

The women dancers were considered as buffalo "cows," and as "mothers" to the "calves." One of the old women dancers played the role of buffalo "bull."

The "calves" were very young girls, not necessarily "dearly-loved" children, although there was a certain preference for them. There could be more than one girl "calf" for each dance. In one of the two dances in which Coming Daylight was a "calf," there were four girl "calves," all of them associated with the "shorts," and one boy "bull calf." The "talls" on this occasion could get no "calf" as they were too poor to give things away, as was *de rigueur*, for the "calves." "Dearly-loved" children were preferred for the reason that their people would usually be in a position to make such presents.

When Coming Daylight was asked to take the part of a "calf" in the Women's Dance, she was a very little girl, then living with her grandmother. Two women, apparently the two waiters or attendants, came into her grandmother's lodge. One of the two at once offered Coming Daylight a big pipe, stem first, filled with tobacco mixture. She did not take it right away as she did not know what the action meant. The woman said to her: "Take it. We